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MUNGER AFRICANA LIBRARY NOTES

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Issue # 8

October 1971

A BROWN AFRIKANER SPEAKS:
A COLOURED POET AND PHILOSOPHER LOOKS AHEAD

By
Adam Small

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FRONT COVER: Senufu bull mask. Wood. Zaguinaso region,
Ivory Coast. Height, 25 inches.

Introduction

Adam Small is an extraordinary human being. First and foremost, he is an individual. Although he is active at the interstices of racial contact in South Africa, particularly between those he describes as the white and brown Afrikaners, his influence derives from his personality and his pen rather than from a formal political following.

Mr. Small's views in this NOTE were expressed at a public seminar at the California Institute of Technology and are evidence that he is not easily classified politically. He would delight in this because he, like other sapient South African observers, finds an American tendency towards a "hardening of the categories" where political commentators on the South African scene are concerned.

This publication particularly welcomes the first Coloured contributor because in many ways the Coloured community of two million is a summation of the moral dimension of South Africa. The South Africa government's plans for Bantustans have found, rightly or wrongly, increasing acceptance from both White and Black opposition groups and newspapers. Sir De Villiers Graaff, leader of the United Party, which long opposed Bantustans, concedes that the "momentum towards independence may well have become irreversible, and no succeeding government will be able to deny them self-determination in respect to that independence." Even Alan Paton agrees that at least Bantustans break "the log jam. Something moves."

But the future of the Coloured community is unclear in the minds of Afrikaner Nationalists. The split extends deeply into the present Cabinet with different ministers expressing contrary views. One group looks towards eventual full integration, the other to a vague "parallel" development. Prime Minister Vorster's first attempt to reconcile differences was to suggest that the particular problem of the Coloured community be left to the next generation. This did not end the intensive discussion in Afrikaner intellectual or editorial circles. So Vorster then came out firmly against integration now or even to consider it now for the future. The ambiguity was not unintentional.

Meanwhile clarification within the National Party has taken place on two critical issues. First, the vague idea of a "Colouredstan" or homogeneous territory for the Coloured community has lost favor as a feasible alternative. Second, the division in thinking between the more verligte (enlightened) Cape Nationalists and Transvaal Nationalists has been blurred by a striking action on the part of twenty-nine leading Afrikaner academics in the Transvaal. They have strongly and repeatedly criticized and pressed the Government in a direction towards accepting the Coloured people within the "White" community. These intellectuals in the Transvaal deliberately excluded from their pronouncements any support from the Cape intellectuals so as not to dilute the Transvaal base of their criticisms in what has traditionally been the most conservative Afrikaner province. Subsequently, their

views were endorsed by prominent Afrikaner intellectuals in the Cape and in Natal. There remains a split among Afrikaans papers in the Transvaal, but the differences are such that no longer can points of view on the future of the Coloured people be easily classified as Cape vs Transvaal. The growing influence and political consciousness of the Transvaal Coloured community, to which Mr. Small refers, is a potent factor in making the issue not solely a provincial one, but a national one having deep moral roots.

It is the moral and philosophical aspects of the problem which most concern Mr. Small in his remarks and in his life work. He was born in Wellington in the Cape Province, is now 35 years old, married with sons 11 and 8, and lives in Cape Town. He took a B.A. (Honors) from the University of Cape Town and then an M.A. in 1962. He spent two semesters at the London School of Economics in 1958 and three semesters of further postgraduate work at Oxford in 1963-64. After first teaching at Fort Hare University College, he moved to the then new University of the Western Cape in 1960, where he has remained as Chairman and Lecturer in the Department of Philosophy.

His literary output has been primarily in four books of Afrikaans poetry in which he often satirizes Afrikaner society through the wonderfully expressive patois of the lower class Coloured Community of the Cape with its special Afrikaans and English slang. In 1961 he wrote Die Eerste Steen (The First Stone), which is basically a moral criticism of the racial pattern of South Africa. He has also written a play about a Coloured person who advances himself by emigrating, but who cannot break the cultural bind to South Africa, "Kanna Hy Kohystoe" (Kanna Comes Home). Mr. Small contributes prolifically to political magazines such as the New Nation and to the Afrikaans press.

On returning to South Africa shortly after giving the seminar reproduced in this NOTE, Mr. Small commented on the great complexity of America and the distorted image South Africans have of it. He said that the "South is not the race-conscious hell on earth for Blacks that it used to be...and there are four southern Governors who realize that there is no future in a country with exclusiveness and color."

His advice to young Coloured people is "WORK HARD, AS HARD AS HELL. STUDY, STUDY, STUDY. Acquire every and any qualifications you can get. And forget about the White world. Don't try to be 'like Whites.' The world is going to be coloured in any case. His message from his American experience is: "Be proud, proud, proud. For you can be. There is a profound, absolutely profound, sense in which you can be proud."

Adam Small is not a politician. He is a sensitive philosopher. In this NOTE he speaks quite informally, often in intimate and emotionally personal terms. In his work he has cried out to white

Afrikaners on behalf of his people. What follows is almost a cri de coeur for more sophisticated American understanding of the South African scene as he analyzes--and endures--it.

Mr. Small's cry suggests a line by his favorite philosopher, Van Wyk Louw: "If we can do nothing else, we can at least sit down and think, and in so doing perform something useful."

ESM

A BROWN AFRIKANER SPEAKS:
A COLOURED POET AND PHILOSOPHER LOOKS AHEAD

I am taking it for granted that people here know something about the South African set up. That they know, for instance, the basic way in which people are categorized, that there are four main groupings of people there. There are the Whites and the Blacks (or maybe I should say the Blacks and then the Whites, in that order). [Laughter] Then we have the so-called Coloured grouping. I happen to be categorized there. People keep asking me how I managed to get into that group. I don't know. These things are done so arbitrarily. In any case, that is where I am categorized in South Africa. Then we have an Asiatic grouping.

In the White grouping you have the Afrikaans whites--the people who are running the show there just now in the political sense; in any case as far as power is concerned, political power. Then we have the English-speaking whites. And I suppose I can say that to a very large extent they are the ones who are now running the show as far as money goes. But the Afrikaners are catching up on this.

The Blacks are divided, as you know, into so many different divisions themselves. Then we have the Indians, which includes Hindus and Mohammedans. The Mohammedans have a community in the Cape, but these people are classified as Coloureds, so I shouldn't mention them. Japanese--very few of them; Chinese--very few of them. The Japanese, for certain purposes, are considered to be White in South Africa, but for other purposes they are considered to be Non-White. I could give you an example of the paradoxical situation we have out in South Africa. I think that any totalitarian type of political setup is always paradoxical in its nature. For instance, it is very interesting in the case of the girl* who was okay for playing in the South African Open Tennis Tournament. This Tournament isn't really Open, it is a White Tournament, but they call it the Open Tennis Tournament in South Africa. And this Australian girl was all right for playing in this. But then the newspapers made a big show of it, including the African ones. For this purpose she was then Non-White.

The Chinese can attend White schools in South Africa, but otherwise they are not recognized as Whites at all and cannot stay in White areas. Ask the Government how to explain that. It wouldn't be able to tell you, and I wouldn't be able to tell you. In any case, this is the way things go.

Then you have the Coloured community, and I am going to speak a little about this community. I will be very brief. I hope to

* Evonne Goolagong, the part-Aboriginal Australian girl who later won the Wimbledon championship. Ed.

say a few things which might be important. This community is usually referred to as the so-called Cape Coloureds, simply because of the concentration of the Coloured people in the Southwest Cape and the so-called Cape Malay community--people who are originally of Oriental origin, but who have been in South Africa for generations, of course, and there has been a lot of intermarriage with all sorts of people. Basically they are Moslim, and they are reckoned in with the Coloureds in South Africa. Now, I might be speaking a little too feelingly at times simply because my heart is very close to all of this in South Africa.

The Coloured community is basically Afrikaans, and I would say for 90% or more, the Coloured people are Afrikaans-speaking and Afrikaans-thinking and Afrikaans-doing. They are nothing, really, but Afrikaners. There are also the people who are basically English-speaking. But by and large this is an Afrikaner grouping. The white Afrikaans on the whole, even at this stage, do not like recognizing this, but there is nothing they can do about it. Culture goes beyond politics in any case, and history will show that these people have always been and will always be Afrikaans. And there is nothing anybody can do about that.

My own background is thoroughly Afrikaans, despite the fact that I have acclimatized myself to English. My wife, for instance, is I think a little more English than Afrikaans, but I am trying to get her over to Afrikaans and she is doing wonderfully. In fact, she is speaking an excellent Afrikaans these days and beginning to read works by people such as Van Wyk Louw. Despite the fact that I have acclimatized myself in an English way (also for social and political reasons), there was a time I felt so bitter about things, I was purposely getting away from my own language and taking to English, even writing in English at that stage. I am Afrikaans and I can't help that. I find--and I suppose anybody finds this when trying to express his truly basic emotions or feelings about things--I find myself turning to my mother language. It was some time before I had been outside South Africa, and, writing home to my wife, I was writing Afrikaans, despite the fact that she is perhaps a little more English than myself. I only realized this after I had written the first two or three letters. I had been writing English in between, but Afrikaans was what I wrote home.

I said that perhaps I was going to talk a little feelingly about all this. You will excuse me for that. The life of the Coloured people in South Africa is perhaps the most tragic life you have in South Africa. Now I know I am risking myself on this, but this is the way I see things. And I say this for the very reason that these people are culturally what they are. The people who are running the political show there at the moment, the people who hold power there, are Afrikaans, too, and there is this cultural tie-in. It is an absolutely fundamental thing in South Africa. Culture, as far as I am concerned, is absolutely basic to the interpretation and the understanding of any situation anywhere in the world. But despite this cultural tie-in, you have a rift--thinking especially now of the Afrikaans, the White and the Coloured.

And very often in these days, more often than not, it is a very bitter thing. This is altogether tragic. In any situation anywhere in the world this would be tragic if you have people of the same cultural origins and the same cultural destiny, I would say, having this sort of difference because of politics.

It is also tragically our situation as far as the Coloured people are concerned because in numbers, at this stage, the Coloureds are still not outnumbering the Whites, although I think this will happen rather soon now. The Blacks in South Africa could always depend on their numbers. Van Wyk Louw in his manner says something about this-- that the black man need not really worry himself about his survival. The word survival, the concept of survival is a very important concept in South Africa. Even for someone like Van Wyk Louw it was a very important concept. And I think it is for everybody everywhere in the world, although we interpret things differently. In any case, simply because of his numbers the black man has no problem of survival. The Whites in South Africa have had, and the Coloureds, too. This was why Van Wyk Louw was a protagonist of complete integration of the Coloureds into the White community in South Africa all along the line. For the Coloureds are terribly helpless because numerically they do not outweigh the Whites in a sense in which the Blacks outweigh the Whites. And, also, there has been this economic lag. It has been a matter of historical coincidence, I suppose, more than anything else. But this helplessness also adds to the tragedy of the situation. There is so very little they can do about their own situation.

I think it goes deeper than this, however, because you have to explain why the Coloured people in South Africa have never been able for nearly fifty years to get some solid political organization off the ground. I know there is the APO* and so on. Those were reasonably good days, I suppose, as far as political organization was concerned, but even they were not all that wonderful. After that, there has been nothing. Because of it very tragically there is a sort of revival of political consciousness--anti-apartheid, anti-Afrikaner--these days. But there is nothing in the way of sound political organization in the midst of the Coloured people. So if you have to explain this, you are really at a loss unless, I think, you know something about the cultural history of the Afrikaners. And if I say the Afrikaners now, I mean everybody who is Afrikaner in South Africa, and this means the Coloured there, too.

This statement needs some explanation, but we just don't have the time for it. It is a very big matter altogether; and if you have to explain this, you will have to go back to the fact, which is an obvious fact on the surface, that the Coloured people are Afrikaans. They simply do not see their way clear to be anti-Afrikaans, ultimately. They do not see their way clear because of this cultural background of theirs.

* African Political Organization--a Coloured movement of the 1920's. Ed.

And if I say they do not see their way clear, I do not mean that this is anything conscious. There is very much that is subconscious or unconscious that is liked about a culture. I think this is the thing that you have to bear in mind when trying to explain why there is this lack of a political organization in the midst of the Coloureds. It is not this thing that some people talk about, you know, such as there is a lack of political consciousness, the people are not developed in a positive enough way, and so on. There is a lot more to it than that; it goes a lot deeper than that altogether. In any case, you will find that these people are discriminated against in this way in South Africa. Someone like myself has to be watching signs and notice boards all day long. When you come home, you feel so embittered about all this. This is all you talk about when you get home, really. Very consciously, sometimes, you have to make an effort not to let this get you down. You go to bed, you dream about it--and I am not exaggerating at all. I stayed just beyond the railway line, and the railway line in South Africa is very often and most always an indication of the whole thing there, because you know a railway line, or a river, or something like that, is a line of demarcation between Whites on the one hand and Coloureds on the other hand in a very physical sense. In any case, for me it was the railway line, and I see this thing over there all the time. This means something to me. This is the sad part of the story I have to tell.

My story is a paradoxical story because I also want to tell a happier part. You can ask me about the details of enforcement of apartheid as far as it affects daily life there. This is something very important to me. I am not inclined to think in the abstract. In spite of the fact that I am a philosopher, I wouldn't call myself an existentialist. I hate labels. I think that they mean very little. But I think rather concretely, and so these details of everyday life, mainly implications, are very important to me. We don't have the time to talk about all these things, but I am sure as far as you people are concerned, you live in a very free country. I think the problems of the United States are really awfully exaggerated outside the United States--and inside the United States, too! Your hair would just stand on end if you knew what sort of thing someone like myself has to go through on an everyday sort of level in South Africa. So, that is the sad part of my story. I feel that it has been very inadequate, but we must get on to other things.

What is happening in South Africa at the moment I think is something promising. It is very promising, indeed. Now, I cannot but interpret what is happening there now culturally, so I will have to say something about this man's book I have in front of me. This is one thing that I have been carrying all over the place with me. I have been reading this over and over again. I don't know how many times I have read this book. It is a wonderful book. This man has written very many wonderful things, but some of his most important essays and cultural philosophy is in this book. The man is Van Wyk Louw. Van Wyk Louw is an Afrikaner who started writing in the '30's as a very young man. As he continued to write, his ideas changed some, but it is amazing that he had this wonderful insight way back there when he was a young man.

This man just was a genius, as far as I am concerned. You could feel this when you were in his company. I was privileged to have met him, at least four times, I think, during the latter part of his life. And he was an absolutely marvelous man. However, that is not the main point; I am interested in his thought. That is what counts. And, of course, the fact that he was an Afrikaner is very important. Now, we have had important thinkers in South Africa. Smuts was an important thinker. I don't know whether I should say he was the last great metaphysician--maybe metaphysics is making a come back. Some of you might know Smuts' book on holism and evolution. But I do think the profoundest thinker that South Africa has had is Van Wyk Louw. And in South Africa we are going to hear a great deal about this man in the future. I am risking my neck on that. However, I am certain of this: I am absolutely convinced that Van Wyk Louw is going to be a big name in the whole development there.

What I am seeing in South Africa at the moment as far as the so-called verligte-verkrampste rift in the Nationalist Party--and not only in the Nationalist Party, but also in Afrikanerdom--is concerned, is this. I imagine you know what I mean when I talk about verligtes-verkrampstes? It simply means that you have two factions in the Afrikaner Nationalist structure. One faction contains hard-core protagonists of old-style apartheid. Perhaps I shouldn't say "old-style," because, after all, where would you put down your dates for this sort of thing? I am thinking of the sort of apartheid which is based entirely on color and on nothing else--rigid and uncompromising. You have this faction and then you have people who cannot think that way anymore. And these are people who have been influenced tremendously on a cultural level by someone like Van Wyk Louw and by other thinkers, too. You would be surprised in South Africa what influence novelists and poets have on our society there. But Van Wyk Louw has been the outstanding person. These people in this other faction cannot think the way the hard-core protagonists of apartheid think any longer. There is a very important struggle going on there, and it has been going on for some time now, right in the midst of the Nationalist Party. In fact, right inside the Cabinet you have this rift. The important thing for me is not so much that you have it inside the Party, inside the Cabinet, but that you have it on this broad, cultural plane of Afrikanerdom. It is there. I was inclined to think in the beginning that it was not all that important. I know Helen Suzman not so long ago was saying that there are no verligtes and verkrampstes, there are only the verkrampstes and the people who are less verkrampste. I do not agree with that at all just now. I have changed my mind about this. I think it is a wonderful thing to change one's mind if he sees the evidence running against the things that he has been believing in. This is an absolutely fundamental thing, I think, and this is the most important thing that has been happening in South Africa for a long time. At the moment, it is perhaps difficult to assess just what the outcome of all this will be. I think in Afrikanerdom itself, in the Nationalist Party itself, nobody is really sure as to what, just what, is happening there. That something is happening is very obvious and that something very important is happening there is also beginning to be very obvious.

I know that this idea is being exploited by the so-called Opposition Party we have in South Africa. I am not talking of the Progressives, for I have a great deal of respect for the Progressives, especially with a woman like Helen Suzman there. I have a sort of respect for the defunct Liberal Party, too, if you think of people like Alan Paton, and so on. Politically, however, these people have little impact to make on South African society. The United Party I have almost no respect for. Black students I just spoke to over the vacation have come away from NUSAS [National Union of South African Students] now and have formed their own black students organization, with something, perhaps, of a black power concept the way you find it is diversified in America here. These students were inclined to agree with me, and I with them, that perhaps in many respects the United Party was to the right of the Nationalist Party, at least of certain tendencies in the Nationalist Party. And in any case, I do not like, and I cannot make sense of, the United Party policy as far as South Africa is concerned. I would rather vote Nationalist--and that is saying quite a bit!

The entire situation in the minds of the Afrikaner politicians is critical. You will not really find that something spectacular is happening in our society at large, at the moment, on an every day sort of level. But something is happening on the level of the Afrikaners' minds there which is fundamental. Very soon I think we will see the results of this on what people call a practical level. I don't like this word "practical" very much, but we will be seeing the results and consequences of all this. What is happening? This is where Van Wyk Louw comes in. I call him a cultural philosopher, but he is also a poet. And I am making a statement now which some people might think is just sheer sentiment. History alone will point this out. I somehow feel that history will be on my side. Van Wyk Louw has been the most important figure in Afrikaans poetry in the Germanic, the dietse wereld. He has been the most important figure there for I don't know now long now, because he is a man who lives simply for his poetry. He is worthy of the Nobel Prize. If he had written in any other language he probably would have been awarded the Nobel Prize, but this is not the important thing. I am inclined to see his philosophical thinking and his cultural philosophy as even more important than his poetry. What is happening just now is that in South Africa the ideas of this man are breaking through for the first time in our society, and that means Afrikaner society. Van Wyk Louw has written amongst other things a book, which I have here, called Liberale Nationalisme--Liberal Nationalism. He accepts the concept of nationalism, but within the South African context. He is telling the Afrikaner simply what all great thinkers have been telling people everywhere, at any time. Let us be great. I can't go into all the details here, but for the first time this man is breaking through, is getting, so to speak, outside his own thought, outside his books, is getting through to his people, if you like. There is one thing on which he has been insisting all the time. He has written another book which, literally translated, is called "Loyal"--not opposition, really--"Resistance," if you like. So he has been insisting all the time that despite the fact that he is criticizing the Afrikaners, he is an Afrikaner himself. He has his roots there in the cultural pattern

of the Afrikaner. This is an irreversible condition. And so there is this loyalty. But, the very fact that there is this loyalty gives him the right to criticize the way he does. I think this is a fundamental approach. It is the sort of approach that I take, too. In fact, I feel as far as my thought is concerned, a tremendous affinity with Van Wyk Louw. I have already told you that I am nothing but an Afrikaner myself. One of my most treasured possessions is a letter Van Wyk Louw wrote to me--it was in '61 or '62. I had then published a little book, Die Eerste Steen, which was a very emotional--I was very young, then--moral criticism of apartheid society the way I experienced the thing, and in fact the way I experience it now. I would say very much the same things I said then, except I would say them rather more subduedly. I've grown a little older, a little quieter, but despite all, a little more bitter about things. Louw wrote to me that he started reading this little book with interest at first, and then later he was moved by it. So I couldn't care after that what anybody else had to say about the book. I had lots of critics. But if that was the way Louw felt about my book, I was happy.

You will find this thinking of Van Wyk Louw's is breaking through into the thinking of other people--university professors and lecturers, for instance. It is becoming evident in the approach of young students in the Afrikaans universities. I am thinking of a place like Stellenbosch, but not only Stellenbosch, other places, too. I am making it my business--I am sort of go-between man there very often--to convey some of this thought to English students in South Africa. Amazingly, you will find that in English-speaking centers, there is still an almost total ignorance of the work of Van Wyk Louw. He hasn't been translated, and heaven alone knows why not. I am beginning to blame myself for this. My American experience here now will probably contribute towards my beginning translations of Van Wyk Louw's work, because I think this man's thoughts should be known all over. Not only all over in South Africa, but, all over. Certainly in South Africa.

At a workshop during the vacation I purposefully did a paper on Van Wyk Louw's thought. This was in a setting where we had--using the term "liberal" in a South African context now--"liberal" students. Naturally we had South African students. We also had a representative of the black African students organization which has come away from NUSAS. Then we had more moderate people there. These are people also basically Afrikaner who cannot take apartheid, hard-core type of apartheid, anymore, and they have formed themselves into a group, which, unfortunately, I forget right now what it is they call themselves. We also had, amazingly, a hard-core type of Afrikaner student. We got on very well, but he was still saying that he was sorry, in spite of the fact that we had no problems with people there, we really should have problems with them! And I talked about Van Wyk Louw there, and I was very happy that the black African students understood perfectly what this was all about. In fact, they thought that Van Wyk Louw had something important to say, and this made me very happy.

So this is the sort of role I see myself in way back home--as an interpreter, you might say, an interpreter of thoughts. Interpreting

the best thoughts according to my view of what we have there, and I think that this thought is very much represented in Van Wyk Louw to everybody there. I think the Afrikaner will be managing for himself, but I am trying to give him a push, too. I am thinking here especially of certain newspaper editors; they know what it is all about. They cannot always conceal these things in public. And they know just what Van Wyk Louw has meant to them all along, and they realize that this is what is happening now. It is an amazing thing as you live with us just now, and you see ideas, and particularly the ideas of this man, break through into actual life. If you live in a society (I suppose that this happens here, too) like we have in South Africa, a society whose measurements you can take, so to speak (although your society is rather different; it is so vast you can't take its measurements), you can feel this, you can almost see these ideas happening now. Ideas are supposedly abstract things, but on a certain day in a certain month, they suddenly get through into real life. It is a very exciting experience altogether. So I would say that this whole verligte-verkrampste thing that you have now can be seen against this background and the verligtes would be all those people who have been impressed by Van Wyk Louw. And once this sort of thing has started happening, I call it irreversible; they cannot go back on this. Their consciences will warn them, so they won't be able to do anything about it. And this is the promising thing I see. A real showdown is needed. There has been a sort of half-hearted showdown there and some people have moved out of the Nationalist Party. The cleverest ones have remained behind and they are undermining the Party from inside. We have a man called Teurnicht who is a very dangerous man because he is a cleric Calvinist. You know what this means in the South African context. This man is still there in the Nationalist Party. Then you have a man who is at the head of the South African Radio who is also a very dangerous man as far as verkrampste propaganda and thinking is concerned. I do not know how the verligte politicians will cope with these people. I am not worried about that, however, Culturally I think the verkrampstes will not be able to make it in South Africa. It is impossible, I think, for them to make it against a society with enlightened thought. Perhaps I am over-confident. I don't think that evil triumphs ultimately.

I don't know whether there is anything else that I can say. I told you I was going to talk incoherently and, thank God, I have not talked too passionately about it. I have been trying to control myself. You have seen glimpses of this, however. To conclude, I want to read two passages from an essay of Van Wyk Louw's just to show you why I say this man is a great man. I just want you to listen to this and try to tell yourself whether after all he is this great thinker I say he is. This particular essay is called, if I translate it literally, "Ruler and Humanist." It is a dialogue between the philosopher, as Van Wyk Louw conceives the philosopher--this is the Humanist--and the power politician. The Humanist here--Louw speaks of him as the Prisoner--is going to be executed. Louw does not say what for; we can imagine what for. He has South Africa and he has his own Afrikaners in the back of his mind all the time. These two are having a discourse, the Power Politician and the Humanist. It is a sort of final discourse. I shall read the conclusion to you first:

The Power Politician says:

You and I have been playing for quite awhile now with the words good and bad.

(I am translating straight from Afrikaans here, so if I hesitate a bit, you understand I am trying to get the translation.)

But as far as I am concerned (this is the Power Politician speaking) the difference between good and bad is like the difference between ice and water. They are words and what can they mean for you now? Within a very short while you will be dead. There will be no opportunity for you any longer to make propaganda. You will die quietly. And you will not even be able to play the role of martyr. Nobody will know that you have died or how you have died. There will be no opportunity for a gesture even. Nobody will even know whether you died bravely or cowardly.

And then the Humanist's reply is:

Are you sure?

The Power Politician says:

Nobody will know within a short while that you have lived. Nobody will even know that. We will destroy your friends.

The Humanist replies:

All of them? And all of them with whom they talked?

Power Politician:

We will burn the books.

Humanist:

To the last one? So that not even one piece of paper that had blown against a bush will remain?

And the Power Politician replies:

We will do this so that it is practically sufficient.

And the Humanist says:

Some of my enemies, your supporters, have also read what I had to write, and my words will remain in them as a conscience.

And then the final response of the Power Politician is:

We will do all that and then just for social technical reasons I ask you, what comfort can there be for you that can at this ultimate stage pull strings in this attitude of yours?

And Van Wyk Louw, because, of course, Van Wyk Louw is the Humanist speaking, replies:

Two things. That your executioner will see me die.
And that we have had this dialogue.

That, I think, tells you something about the stature of this man. There is a very short passage here of which I will read only a few lines. Now you know what happens in a totalitarian or semi-totalitarian political structure. People operate on the level of abstractions all the time. There is very little that is concrete about their thought or even of real life, and they overlook facts very willfully at times. So it is very important to insist on the fact that we are only men and that we can make mistakes. And Louw, speaking as the Humanist, has this to say:

I am a man. An ordinary man.
I am not an animal, and I am not God.
I am something composite, something problematic.
And we are millions, good ones and bad ones.
The good ones usually have something bad about them.
The bad ones something good.
Most of us are really stupid.
There are a few that are the highest.
And the highest are not all that high,
if we compare them to what we sometimes
suspect man might be.
Most of us are lazy.
We do not want to live in tension.
We are not willing, most of us, even those
of us who have intelligence for this, to exert
ourselves to think through the most essential
truths about our being men.
And yet, each one of us men has something
about him.
Something free (or "peculiar," "strange," if you like)
which makes him man.
We are formed from seed and blood.
(And there is a beautiful passage here which I find,
unfortunately, to be untranslatable.)
And yet it is possible for us to discover truth and
to discover beauty.
Man is always something more than himself.
He cannot only do things.

He can also think about what he has done.
 He can think about his words.
 He can think back about them.
 (And then these very beautiful words here:)
 He can get sick of himself. (Or convulse
 from himself. The Afrikaans word "walg" is a
 very strong word.)
 He can get sick of himself.
 He can be disgusted with himself.
 And he can renew himself.
 At no stage is man something fixed and
 determined, definite, something that can go
 in only one direction.
 He is never a fact, never a given.
 But a possibility of new things, of things
 that have never been.
 (And in the last sentence here:)
 He can, if I have to speak that way (says Louw)
 always make himself into something else.
 Into another man.

Now here I find some connection between Van Wyk Louw's
 work and the work of Jean Paul Sartre. However, Louw was more
 influenced by positive aspects of nature. Sartre is a very important
 philosopher for me, and this emphasis on man as a decision-maker
 is something very important in his work.

If any people want to ask me questions now, they can
 do so.

Q: Do you see any particular significance in the production of the
 movie "Katrina"?

A: Yes. You mean in the South African context? Yes. You know
 what people had to say about this--I am thinking of Whites--that this
 was political propaganda for apartheid, especially the latter part of
 the movie. My interpretation of it was that it was a concession to the
 consensus. That is a very important consideration. I think it truly
 was that, because Jannie Rautenbach and the other man, Emil Nofal,
 who did this thing are both trying very hard to be true artists. But I
 suspect now politically it is very important that this movie was allowed
 at this stage and that it was allowed to deal with this sort of problem
 it dealt with.* I think that almost everybody who should have seen the
 film has seen it. It might not have been all that good ultimately. I
 went. I saw it two or three times. There were passages there I found
 really moving. I was at pains to tell people everywhere I have been
 here that it is entirely wrong to think that our society in South Africa

*Two Coloured-White love affairs. Ed.

is the entirely static sort of society people very often think. We use the word "flux" just now. The situation is one "in flux" there. There is an entire re-thinking of the situation being done in certain important circles there, and I am thinking of the Afrikaner universities especially. But outside the universities, too. Big businessmen, for instance. They might have their own reasons. I am not so sure that it is only big business which is involved. That is not the way the Afrikaner is made.

Q: Is his life more of a whole piece?

A: Right. That is it. First, if you want to understand the Afrikaner, you have to know something about his theological makeup. You cannot understand him without that. I think this is a mistake very many people make. They try to interpret the South African scene in terms of power politics only. You cannot do this. You have to interpret in terms of moral concept, especially in terms of the religious concept. His life is all in one piece. So you do not separate his business, for instance, from his God.

Q: You spoke of the relative importance of artists in South Africa. Would you say that Sestigers [men of the '60's] as a group are stronger? Do you consider yourself a Sestiger?

A: No, I don't. But everybody classifies me there. I am not unhappy about it. The Sestigers have done important spade work. Perhaps not one really outstanding novel has been produced in this period. The Sestigers are not only very young people, we have some older people there, too. But this was work done during the '60's. Suddenly you found our novelists writing books, very provocative books about sex. This had never happened. You know, we have a tradition of very, very quiet writing. And suddenly these people have just seemingly made up their minds that they were going to talk about things that were never talked about before. Our poets have always been great. God knows, this has been so from the very beginning. Our poetry has been great. But I am thinking here especially of the novelists. You will find that a problem like this exists in our literary circles at the moment, whether the Hertzog Prize (which is the big prize for literature, of Afrikaans literature) should be awarded to an Afrikaans poet who is in voluntary exile in Paris, but is South African, and will remain a South African, and an Afrikaner. He is a Communist. He is recognized as one of the greats, one of the younger greats of Afrikaans letters, and he is a Communist. He has written a poem, which has been published in South Africa and has been circulated despite the fact that the numbers of circulation have been kept down. That also indicates to you that there is something afoot in our society. The poem is about nooi, "Pray for Nooi."

Q: Nooi, meaning "girl"?

A: Yes. I have the impression that in the last few years there has been a very considerable rapprochement between the Coloured community of the Cape and of the Coloured people of the Transvaal. And really

largely through Government encouragement and help in various ways, following the broader outlines of Government policy--that they have had a new lease [the Transvaal Coloured Community], their first lease on life. I won't say renaissance, because they were never really born. They didn't have anybody knowing even the trick until a few years ago. And now they have a new pride, a new drive, a new energy. And sometimes the Cape tends to look down upon them.

Q: What are the relations between the large Coloured population and Johannesburg?

A: I talked in the beginning of paradox. You find that the four so-called Coloured representatives--these are white chaps who represented the Coloureds in Parliament over a period of time--went about two years or so ago, and the Government then instituted something which is called a Cape Coloured person for a Representative Council. Now 40 of the seats in this Council are seats people voted for. The other 20 are nominated, so the Government put its Coloured supporters in these seats. We knew that before the time. I don't know why people even moaned about this the way they did. Everybody knew that the Government was going to put in its own men there.

Q: Isn't this the way the British have always done it when starting Colonial legislatures?

A: Exactly. So I found it entirely silly that people came later and said, "What, this impossible Government!" Of course. It has always been an impossible Government. What happened was that you have a group of people forming themselves into an anti-apartheid Labor Party. Very outspoken people. And at least there is some fine leadership there. You have a crowd of people, mainly people of the so-called Federal Party, who seemingly are pro-apartheid. I don't believe for a moment they are. I think what they are telling themselves is that this is the best, this is the shortest distance, between the two points. It is better to do things quietly and in a way to cooperate with the Government, and that way things will change a lot sooner than it will otherwise. So, I do not think that basically they are pro-apartheid. In any case, 26 of these 40 seats were taken by anti-apartheid men and the other 14 went to the other people. So what you have then, first of all, is paradoxical because people who won an election are sitting in opposition in this Council. This is not the major paradox, however. The major paradox of the whole thing is that you have 26 people criticizing the Government from morning to night, and being paid by the Government to do this. And this whole new arrangement has brought the Cape people and the Transvaal people and the Natal people and Coloured people from all over closer together than they have been for ages. Because of a move on the part of the Government, this has come about. And I think if there is any real awakening of legal consciousness, the Government is really responsible in a certain way for it. This, in its own way, is just as paradoxical as the other situations.

Personally, I say okay. There is very little this Council can do. It has no true legislative powers and it is entirely subservient

to the dictates, really, of the white Parliament. But it is a legal forum for expressing opposition to things that opposition should be expressed to. It serves a useful purpose. It has a wider implication than that. It has brought the Coloureds together in a way they probably would not have been brought together without this. So that is the way I look at it. But if you think in terms of relationships between the Cape people--and I know the Cape people always think of themselves as the Cape Coloureds and perhaps more cultured--and the Transvaal people, I think you can explain this new thing in terms of what I just said.

Q: How does this apply in South West? How do people in the Cape now look at the Rehoboth Bastards, for example, or many of the Hottentots, who are so intermarried?

A: Frankly, I think that people in my sort of category at home don't really think about this at all. You find that they are only concerned with the fact that apartheid is what it is, and they shout against apartheid. But there are very few educated people who have sat down and thought the problems through. So, these people are anti-apartheid and some of them would even say integration at all costs. I doubt whether there would be very many Coloureds in this sort of category who would freely want to associate with Blacks. There is a great deal of hypocrisy there, too.

Q: Isn't this evident on the sports team? They don't want to merge into one "Non-White" sports team.

A: Right, you can see this. I am afraid that this is something you find all over the world. That is why people like myself--and I try to think of myself as honest as far as these things are concerned--have a hard job. You have to work with people who are saying they are against apartheid, but if it comes down to brass tacks, they are not all that against apartheid because they practice it themselves.

Q: What about the position, may I ask, of the Cape Malays, who at times in the past have set themselves apart from the Cape Coloured community? And isn't it often said that if they commit a crime, they don't wear a fez, because they don't want to hurt their Malay community image?

A: There is still pretty much of this. They keep themselves apart on various levels. And the important thing is that they are getting ahead economically because of it. There is a lot more economic initiative in the Malay grouping than in the non-Malay Coloured grouping. And I don't know how you can explain this. They are much more cohesive...

Q: Is it their religion which makes a closer tie?

A: Here again I think you have to explain it culturally. You have to go back if you want to explain what is happening on an economic level for these people. Take the institution of this University at which I am teaching. In 1959 legislation was passed by Central Parliament segregating

university education. In these new universities for Non-Whites, there is one for Coloureds, three for the black Africans, and one for the Indians. The institution I am teaching in is really the only one I can teach in in South Africa, and I grabbed the opportunity with both hands. Lots of people talked against that job. But I thought that I had a positive job to do there. This is doing something positive relative to what we are talking about now, because Malay students come to us. After all, they are classified as Coloured, and in my classes, for instance--and I think this is true for lots of other departments there--a very large percentage, sometimes even a high percentage, of my students are Malay. What this implies is that here you find on an intellectual level your so-called Cape Coloured person and your Malay person (who is also classified as Cape Coloured, but is really different in background) for a great deal of getting together for the first time intellectually and meeting together, and this is important. I do not think that there are any basic antagonisms between the Coloureds who are not Malays and the Malays. There is a very nice relationship existing on the whole. I think what keeps them apart is more their individual cultural-religious backgrounds than anything else. One crowd of people goes to church on a Sunday and the other, I don't know when, goes to the mosque. This sort of thing. Otherwise, apartheid is keeping them together, so to speak--this consciousness, that they are all in the same boat.

Q: What kind of opportunities do the graduates from the University that you teach in have as compared to the graduates of White universities or Black universities? Graduates in, let's say, industry or in the professional market?

A: This is a very big problem. And it is an even bigger problem because people are not paid equally for equal work. Whites are paid more, a lot more, too, in very, very many cases than Non-Whites. So you find someone who has qualified in a certain direction in our institution, such as in Library Science. I had one student, qualified, four years in college, a very intelligent and cultivated sort of person, and she is so under-paid, she makes up her mind to leave the country. She finds herself in Canada, cannot settle down, returns to South Africa, cannot settle down, returns to Canada, cannot settle down for the second time, and she is back in South Africa now. God knows what is going to happen to her. This is perhaps not a typical situation, but there has been quite a number of these cases. So, there are opportunities, I would say. There is work for them to do. But there is discrimination, in salaries, wages, and so on. It is very hard for some people to accept such things. For this reason we have had many professional people, especially teachers, leaving South Africa--I am talking of Coloureds now--and settling in Canada. And I think it is more a matter of money than a matter of politics. Some of them have gone to Australia. Australia, of course, presents more of a problem getting in there because Australia has its White policy, too. In Canada it has been easier. The [South African] Government has realized that this situation is terribly bad. And so the Government has clamped down on leaving. It is not easy for people to get away to Canada these days. I went

through to Niagara Falls and then over the border there visiting a very close family of mine, and they fall into this category of people who left. The whole family is a family of teachers. Well, I was very happy to see them and some of them seemed to have settled down very nicely. It is also very sad. For those are the people we need. We have a problem, for instance, with compulsory education. The Government is very right when it says that there are not enough teachers for us to institute compulsory education. But why are there not enough teachers? If all those people who are in Canada should have been in South Africa now, probably we would not have had that problem at all. So, it is a vicious circle all the time. And one of the things that is considered to be a very important thing by everybody there, whether they are on this seemingly pro-apartheid panel or anti-apartheid panel in this Council that I talked about, they all unanimously decided now that this was something to be pushed at all costs: equal pay for equal work. In my institution, for instance, on this academic level, I earn less than somebody having my status who happens to be White. And, I am, after all, in an institution for Coloureds. Well, these things are embittering. Terribly embittering.

Q: Could you talk a little more about the religious concept of the culture? Is there a concept of nature or man's place in nature?

A: Are you thinking comparatively now as far as Coloureds and Whites are concerned?

Q: Well, you mentioned a number of times a specific Afrikaner culture.

A: Right. While the Afrikaner is a Calvinist, basically there are three Afrikaans churches. The Dutch Reformed Church is the most important church there. Now Calvinism, the way I understand it historically, is really a liberal approach in the religion. But what has been made of Calvinism in South Africa is a rather narrow, rigid sort of thing. I, for instance, grew up in the Dutch Reformed Church. This was called a Mission Church. Now you know what "mission" implies. In any case, I grew away from this background, but I'm not so sure that I have grown away from it entirely. There is a very close resemblance between this form of Calvinism and Presbyterianism. I don't know whether you know anything about Presbyterianism. Scottish Presbyterianism this would be. There has always been a great deal of understanding between Afrikaners and Scottish Presbyterians. It is nothing very different to tendencies you find in the United States.

Q: I understood that you were implying that there were differences in the people's attitude toward political organization and toward business because of their religious differences.

A: Talking of the Malays?

Q: The Afrikaners.

A: Oh, Oh, that was it.

Q: That their whole concept of man was different. How is it different?

A: I think if you have a look at what is called Western Man at this stage, I don't know how many people you will find throughout your day who have a sort of totally physical view of life. That means to say, a view of life in the old sense where everything that you do, that you believe, coheres with everything else. There are no contradictory sections to yourself, so to speak. You cannot believe in creation, or shall I rather say, you cannot accept the Bible and believe in evolution. That sort of thing. Your Afrikaner on the whole is a person who has a consistent, or likes to believe that he has a consistent, view of life. His right hand knows what his left hand does. He has this sort of total metaphysical vision all the time. And what holds everything together is his concept of God.

Q: Isn't the Government in very strong support of Israel? And Dr. Malan, who is a minister himself, was the first Prime Minister of a country to visit Israel. This could make a lot of sense in terms of South Africa's political self-interest. And yet I would assume, or would you agree, by what you have said, that this is tremendously reinforced by the very close rapport between many Afrikaners, particularly those who are very traditionally minded, and many orthodox Jews in South Africa?

A: Oh, yes.

Q: And the Old Testament feeling is a real linkage in the sense that you get someone from an orthodox family whose whole life--his business practices, social practices--are all permeated by his religion. This could also be true of Islam. There officially are none except orthodox synagogues in South Africa. And the Afrikaner has a very close tie to this.

A: Right. This is true. You find it in political speeches, and I am talking about true political speechmaking, now. I mean, in the United States you introduce God in your political talk and so on, but it is almost as though this is an afterthought. In South Africa, this is very different. You find somebody going off addressing a political meeting and God gets into this really significantly. Of course, these days a lot of this is terribly pragmatic and hypocritical, because a lot of these politicians realize that God pays off. But the politicians might be pragmatic in that sense and hypocritical, but this tells you something about their people culturally. They know that these are the people whom they have to deal with, these are our people, and this is the way they are, so we talk about God. So never mind the politicians, they are clever fellows, very many of them. And they are not--I don't know, maybe they are the naive ones and not the other people--but let us say that they are not all that naive. But their culture goes beyond politics, and this shows you what the people are like culturally.

Q: Following up this line, would you subscribe to the view that the Doppe church, that is the Gereformeerde based on Pochefstroom, are theologically the most conservative of all the Dutch Reformed Churches

but have a very radical streak in them? Once their concept of race or of what is right or not right in South Africa, once their ideas are changed, then hell will not prevail against them--or the Government!

A: Right. This is a terribly significant thing. One of the significant things is happening there right now. I have been talking about Stellenbosch mainly because Stellenbosch is so important to me. But I know I should not forget Pochefstroom at all with people like Hennie Coetzee there. These are very important people. And here is another one of these paradoxes--you are quite right. You find that on the abstract level of their theological thinking, they have thought all this through and they have made up their minds that this sort of hard core apartheid is not biblical--it is not biblical. All right. The Dutch Reformed Church, even if it settled for the fact of intermarriage, that is marriage across the color line, there is no basis whatever in the Bible for the sort of legislation we have against this in South Africa. And they are terribly worried about that.

Q: They work in a sense as the Southern Baptists do? Very conservative. And then the Whites do not have this? Is this the point that you are making? That there isn't this strong religious sense in the White communities?

A: Well, we are talking about the Afrikaans whites now. These are the Afrikaans whites we are talking about. Like the Southern Baptists in Mississippi.

Q: If the Doppers make up their minds that they should integrate because it is theologically correct, then there would be no holding them back?

A: Exactly. And they have thought this whole thing through on this abstract level. And chaps like Hennie Coetzee are coming out now, and, as you say, it is a radical way, within the radical context there. And they are saying that either you are going to develop these Bantustans, the way Verwoerd promised... Very often I wonder what would have been the case now if Verwoerd were alive. It is a terribly interesting speculation but, of course, in a certain sense, it is a futile one. This was his concept. He probably would have poured money into these places, or he might not have. He might just have done the same thing Vorster is doing now or drop the whole idea. But this is something radical for those people. Hennie Coetzee has written several articles about this in Die Beeld and Rapport. You shouldn't simply talk of White South Africa. You must distinguish. You must make a clear distinction between Afrikaans White South Africa and English White South Africa. Although many of the English vote on the side of the Afrikaners these days. But this is merely a political thing. It is not a cultural thing at all. Culturally, there is no unity there whatsoever. I think this is one of the big problems. But the people that we have been talking about now are the Afrikaners, White Afrikaners and Coloured Afrikaners. A very high percentage of the Coloureds are, amazingly, Dutch Reformed people, despite the fact that the Dutch Reformed Church is associated with apartheid. That is the usual idea. But this is another surprising thing. Some of the Dutch Reformed clergymen, the ministers, have been

outspoken in their criticism of the Government. Another book I have been carrying along with me for some time is by a Dutch Reformed minister. He was the man who brought me back into the church at a certain stage, then I went off again. He had the courage to write a book about the Coloureds, putting forward the really interesting idea, I thought, that white Afrikaners are not a "people," a "folk," without the Coloureds, because a "folk" must be complete. It must have a proleteriati. And the Whites taken on their own have no proleteriati. The proleteriati is really the Coloureds.

Q: Is there any chance of this being the case of church leadership going one way and the people continuing on in some other directions? If such a turn is taken, would the people perhaps generally ignore the whole thing?

A: No, I don't really see it like that. I think the whole thing is pretty much of one piece.

Q: But what about one moderator who took a strongly liberal position?

A: That was exceptional. And I don't think I admire Beyers Naude very much. But I don't know what sort of impact they have. I think they are doing wonderful work. I do think, however, that certain other people in the Afrikaans universities are doing more important work for real change in South Africa. The sort of change that will come from inside. And I do think that all the pressures the world can put on us will ultimately amount to very little. If there is going to be any significant change in South Africa, it is going to be made right inside.

Q: How would you like to see American foreign policy towards South Africa changed? Or would you like to see it changed?

A: I came across the crazy idea from a man in Cincinnati who wanted America to get involved in this guerilla warfare on our borders because the Russians are taking some initiative now, and the Americans shouldn't be left out of this. Now, this is just crazy. I think a neutral attitude is best, and hope the people themselves can work out their own problems. On the other hand, I know there is a case to be made out for not remaining neutral because it is shown to be effective if pressures are put on us. If I say "us," I mean really the Government there in South Africa. I don't know why I say "us" --simply because I do associate myself with the whole thing there. Culturally you are part of it. You want to opt out, but you can't. If pressures are put on South Africa the way they have been on sports, for instance, this certainly has its effect. Much of the rethinking of the situation might be due to the change in this area. But, then, it might have come about in any case because of South Africa's own internal pressures. So that is the reason why I am inclined to think that whatever the attitudes of other governments outside--and I am thinking of the bigger powers now--whatever their attitudes might be towards South Africa, settling of the problems will be done right there whatever settling there is going to be.

Q: When South Africa offered to send integrated teams to the Olympics in Mexico City, some people looked upon this if it were to come off as a marvelous opportunity for white and brown Afrikaners, and for Blacks, to cheer for their country. This might have had significant psychological impact on race rapport. Were you in favor of the team's being allowed to go?

A: I was. I am afraid there are far too many people still not understanding the importance of something like this. I know that it was interpreted in certain circles as simply a ruse on the part of the Government and so on. Even if it was, so what? First of all, it would have given the white chaps and the non-white chaps outside South Africa an opportunity to get together, to speak together, the way they cannot really do so inside their own country. This is an important thing already. My line of approach is that any communication there can be at any time, in any form, is important. Any dialogue is important. This is why I have welcomed, for instance (although I do not think this will boil down to very much) the progress of people like Busia and Houphouet Boigny. I think these are wise men and they see things reasonably straight. And why I have not been at all impressed by a man like Kenneth Kaunda, to the north of us. Perhaps he is not running his own country too badly, but I think he has problems that he should be taking account of there and perhaps spend some of his energies that he spends on South Africa on Zambia. However, I take a reasonably optimistic view of things in South Africa. I have just written a piece for one of the English newspapers there which they will probably publish, and I call this piece "The Dread of Coming Home." I've been over here for a short time now, and I will be going back, and yet here I was a person. I will be getting off that plane and I will be a Coloured. And I don't know what my reaction is going to be. It is really difficult to say beforehand. I might even cry. I may have to go through a separate entrance. Beyond the airport, probably I will have to do it then whether I like it or not. So I'll have to start acclimatizing myself to that all over again.

These two months are not a very long time to be away in one sense. In another sense, it is a very long time to be away. You almost forget what it is like at home, and then suddenly you arrive there, and it is all there again, and you have never been away. Again, my attitude is perhaps a paradoxical one, but I think it is perfectly intelligible. People sometimes say to me in South Africa, there are Afrikaners who say it, and even pretty sympathetic Afrikaners, that I am embittered. Well, I am embittered. I am curbing it and I am trying to be reasonable, but I do not want to say that all of the picture is a pretty one over there. It is a very ugly picture over there. And life for someone like myself can be hell on earth in South Africa on this everyday sort of level. In my case, most of my friends are probably Whites, but also many of them are Coloureds, and I have Black friends. But my sort of association, that is, associating with all sorts of people--this is not the usual sort of thing in South Africa. Maybe this sort of privileged position as far as human communication is concerned that I find myself in also makes me a little more bitter about things than somebody else who does not have this sort of opportunity. In any case, the picture there is not a beautiful

one, so I do not want anybody to get the impression from what I have said that I am a happy sort of person in South Africa. I am a very sad sort of person in South Africa. But, at the very same time, I am trying to be reasonable. And this is important.

I do think we live in a world in which a sensible person can have very little time for big blueprints. I hate using the word "crisis," because it has been used so often and it can almost be suspect at times. But we do live in a critical sort of world. People talk of a piecemeal social engineering. I do not like the concept of social engineering, but I do agree with a thought like that--that we live in a world in which we should be patchwork and hold things together as decently as we can hold things together. So I do not believe--whether it is a blueprint from the right or a blueprint from the left--I do not believe in this sort of thing at all. This is very much the sort of line I take in South Africa. I consider myself to be a radical. However, as I define it, a person who is a radical is a person who has roots. This is the way I understand it, and I think the sort of concepts people are throwing around the place--this idea of a radical as the chap who throws the bomb, and so on--it is all nonsense. This chap is not a radical at all, because in many, many cases he has no roots. He has never tried to discover his own roots. That is why I started off the day saying I am an Afrikaner. I wanted to place myself. But I am also a universal man. I hope you understand that.

Q: Apropos of your comment on the dilemma and difficulties of the intellectual Coloured community, is there any resentment vis-a-vis the outward-bound policy that a man such as President Banda of Malawi could be invited to Johannesburg, be received by the Prime Minister, and be given state dinners? Does anyone say, "If a black man from a neighbouring country can be received in the highest halls of government, or if a black ambassador can live in Pretoria in an exclusive White suburb, why can't we?" Does this create more bitterness or is it rather a sign of hope?

A: Again you have a paradox there, for both things result. I know that people like a friend of mine, David Currey, who is second in command of the Labour Party, and Sonny Leon, who is the Chief, have expressed themselves very openly and very bitterly about this sort of thing. "These black chaps from outside are coming in, staying in Mount Nelson Hotel in Cape Town, really being allowed to live it up." On the other hand, if they sit down with me, and we talk among ourselves, we agree that things have changed, after all. I was telling another friend, Rufus Kinney, "Look, Sonny Leon has been visiting Buthelezi." And there was a gesture, a sort of telling the Government "To hell with the Whites." We Coloureds, we have been on the side of the Whites for so long. I remember one history book which says, "At the time of Sharpsville, the casualties on the side of the Blacks were so many, I don't know how many, and on the side of the Whites it was one Coloured." This was true. This has been the sort of relationship that has been between the Coloureds and the Whites culturally all the time. But these chaps, Sonny Leon and David Currey, are anti-apartheid people who are deeply

involved and want to tell the Government by means of a gesture that we are turning to the black man now. So Leon makes a big gesture and visits Buthelezi and they talk about status! So I tell Rufus Kinney, "You see, this is what is happening now. And I think this was a damned right thing of Leon to do. This is the way things are going now." So Rufus looks at me, and he tells me, "You are talking nonsense. You know you are talking nonsense. It will never be this way, and you might as well tell the truth." And, of course, he is right. This means, simply, that even people like Leon and Currey can see that new things are happening, and they are hopeful things.

We find ourselves, the Coloureds especially, in the peculiar position that we should do two things at the same time which on the surface appear to be opposed to each other, to be paradoxical. On the one hand, we are strongly opposed to the black people who come in from outside and enjoy all the privileges we do not enjoy. But, at the same time, I would state on an intellectual level--and I believe my political colleagues would heartily agree with me--that these activities are after all a sign of hope.

The color reproduction on the cover of these Notes is from the Victor Du Bois Collection of West African Art. The showing of this collection in April 1971 opened the new Baxter Art Gallery, the first permanent gallery of the Caltech Art Program. The exhibition had particular importance because, in launching a new phase of the art program, the show recognized the importance of work being done by various Africanists at Caltech.

Mr. Du Bois, a resident of the Ivory Coast and a member of the American Universities Field Staff, assembled the collection largely through his own trips into the African bush. A catalog of the collection may be obtained by writing Dr. David Smith in care of the Baxter Art Gallery. The price is \$10.

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